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A
LETTER
TO THE
PEOPLE of GREAT BRITAIN,
ON
The present alarming CRISIS.

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[Price One Shilling and Six-pence.]

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A
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TO THE
PEOPLE of GREAT BRITAIN,
ON
The present alarming C R I S I S.

Pointing at the most eligible Means
For limiting the Number of PLACE-MEN
and PENSIONERS, in Parliament,

And putting an End to
BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION;
To obviate the DANGERS which now threaten
this KINGDOM.

L O N D O N :

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M DCC LXXI.

REPORT

REPORT OF THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE

LAND OFFICE

FOR THE YEAR 1976



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L E T T E R
T O T H E
P E O P L E of G R E A T B R I T A I N ,
O N
The present alarming C R I S I S .

Friends and Countrymen,

YOU have had for a long time frequent warnings, that your excessive corruption was leading your country to approaching ruin : the grand criterion is now, I fear, at length, arrived ; for by the great number of *false patriots* you have had for some years past to manage *public affairs*, pretending the good of the *common weal* in conducting your *national interests*, whilst their own emoluments alone were the primary objects of occupation in their ministry, they have treat-

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ed you with deceit: and instead of changing measures, have only chang'd hands to complete the impious scheme; leaving a broken *constitution* ready to fall into the hands of the *common enemy*, to finish a work of *slavery*, for you and your *children* to inherit.

In order to clear up this point beyond a doubt, it becomes necessary to form a little retrospection, and to lay before you a short narrative of those *celebrated patriotic ministers*, who, in the beginning, erected the iniquitous basis of this destructive plan: for which purpose I shall date the melancholy æra from the traiterous and *inglorious peace of Utrecht*.

Our *patriotic ministers* of that day, sold to *old Lewis* what his *powerful armies* cou'd not, and were not able to atchieve by the *sword*, viz. a superiority over *Great Britain* in her councils and conquests, as well as those of her *allies*, by which the flood gates of corruption were opened, that have since, like a torrent,
over-

overflowed our *state* in all our negotiations.

In this *infamous peace* was laid the foundation of that project which was formed by our patriotic ministers, in concert with those of France and Spain, to place the Pretender on the throne of England, by an invasion from the latter, assisted by the former of these two powers, the execution of which was providentially retarded for some time, by the death of the Queen, though it took place the year following, by the Earl of Mar's raising a rebellion in Scotland, and the Pretender's landing there soon after, with some Spanish troops; but the death of old Lewis, and the wise and prudent measures of his then gracious majesty George the First, in cultivating a friendship, and preserving a good correspondence with the late Duke of Orleans, who had prevented several other embarkations intended to be made in the Pretender's favour; the whole scheme, by these means, and the bravery of the

English troops, who march'd to fight the rebels and their friends the haughty Spaniards, was happily rendered abortive, and the Pretender forced to fly in a greater hurry than he came. Whether the consequences of our late ignominious p—e, with those of a more scandalous and dishonourable convention, if possible, may not, at a convenient opportunity, produce the same or worse effects, as our enemies are now more powerful, and more firmly united than at the above period, every rational man may guess, if he will not judge, till time and a woe-ful experience convinces. These, however, were then the works of our patriot ministers, under the foul influence of *French* and *Spanish* corruption, in whose courts one of the delinquents, after flying his country, found a safe asylum and splendid retreat, being appointed Secretary to this very Pretender, who had previously taken the oaths to oppose; a little time will shew whether the same policy is not now on foot.

Our

Our next great *patriot* was the grand corrupter, whose wisdom never extended to the least political idea of any *foreign court*: and who, for want of spirit, was never able to treat with our enemies upon equal footing.

This *grand financiering patriot*, by a long course of mal-ad——n both at home and abroad, rendered you the contempt of France, Spain, and all the foreign powers. His peculiar talent was only in a modern way of corruption, by his singular art of financiering; that is to say, in finding out the intrinsic price of every individual that opposed his corrupt measures, in preventing his access to any *venal boroughs*.

He artfully concluded his bargains on your General Elections, to bring such representatives into parliament as were ready to prostitute their votes with their honour, according as he should dictate; for which the public money was lavish'd with profusion; and having thus corrupted

rupted both constituents and representatives, he settled a majority of *placemen* and *pensioners* in your parliaments, to *chain and yoke* their own posterity and you.

Seeds of jealousies and divisions he effectually sow'd between king and people, the consequences of which had been fatal to the nation, if they had not been timely perceived and prevented, by our then most *gracious Sovereign*.

The corrupter, however, to crown his odious schemes, loaded your country with an innumerable host of excisemen, and other revenue officers, totally unnecessary, unless to gain votes at elections: he negociated the *famous Convention* with *Spain*, and then by his *bribery* obtained an uncontrollable power in government, by which he escaped the punishment due to these inglorious and unconstitutional practices.

He lifted himself up amongst his peers,
and

and left you his prophecy, that when your national debt should amount to an hundred millions, you would begin to dwindle, and fall into such a degeneracy, that some weak and imperious minister would make you slaves, or else that you would become a *province* to your *neighbours*.

Oh, *Britons* ! examine yourselves, if the day is far off ; and weigh in the scales of bribery, perjury, and corruption, the *blessings* this great patriot has left you for a legacy ; whose administration and whose memory ought to be detested by every honest Englishman, who is desirous or ambitious to see our laws, and the glorious constitution of his country, with his own freedom and independence, pure and untainted by such atrocious measures.

I now come to the next junto : A set of patriotic ministers of the same stamp ; wherein I shall only dwell on the Two Brothers, as having the chief lead in this
ad——n

ad——n for a much longer time than was of any service to your country.

Common sense, honesty, and rational understanding, blended with some political knowledge of our national interests, were necessary, at this juncture, to retrieve the errors and reform the pernicious schemes of the two former ad——s.

The Two Brothers were esteemed men of parts, and true-born Englishmen; but, alas! How frail is human nature! How weak and depraved their endeavours to remedy these evils!

France and Spain play'd their old game with them; at one period cajoling, at another, intimidating, and, at a third, cozening: thus, in this round, the political wheel turn'd, whilst our loving Brothers conducted the war with such supineness and pusillanimity, that they brought dishonour on a late English Prince, who lov'd his country; sacrificed him, the Queen of Hungary, and our allies,

lies, to the ambitious views of our enemies, and committed other fatal blunders too many to enumerate; boldly advancing and encreasing the schemes of *corruption*, which had been bequeathed them by their predecessors in ad——n.

They had, however, a tolerable knowledge to *tax you at home*, though very bad negociators in our national affairs abroad: As a specimen of this fact, they shewed you their skill and judgment, by the most infamous treaty of Aix la Chapelle, where they sent a minister, who agreed to give up Cape Breton to our enemies, the taking of which, in 1749, by Sir Peter Warren, had cost the nation more than sufficient purchase, by blood and treasure: and again, in 1758, much more to retake it, by our fleets and armies, under the command of Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst; then tack'd two notable hostages for payment of their ignorant and corrupt measures; and, lest they should not be sufficiently conspicuous on the event of that disho-

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nourable and ignoble work, they erected a magnificent fire-work, which cost the nation an immense sum, to elucidate the greatness of their politics, and made great rejoicings, which only served to render the weakness and folly of their ad——n more visible; though intended to impose on the minds of the people, and those who were short-sighted, to the end that the enquiry they dreaded might extinguish with the artificial *blaze*, whilst our noble pledges remained as prisoners in the hands of our enemies, vainly deploring the disgrace of their country; thus, by the rule of their predecessors, in having a determin'd majority of placemen and pensioners, to approve and applaud their *patriotic government*, they escaped being called to account for their iniquitous ad——n, leaving you the dupes and laughing-stock of all the powers on the continent.

Such, my dear countrymen, are the national advantages, the delicious fruits which are always to be collected from
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the indefatigable labours of place-men and pensioners, in the extensive field of corruption; ever devoted to sanctify the most enormous crimes of a wicked ad——n.

The next junto, or coalition of the like patriotic m——rs, were led by the celebrated Renard, the inimitable self-financer: this junto, by their dreaming and lethargic heads of state, let *Minorca* be taken, sacrific'd an admiral because you had no navy; or, more properly, one so weak that it was not in a condition to act with effect, by which your enemy did what he pleas'd; whilst in the unmerited death of a brave man, * Galliffioniere made a sorrowful triumph.

The system of bribery and corruption was now carried as high as at any time before, till by such bad measures, many miscarriages, and numberless neglects,

* The French Admiral.

a general outcry put an end to this obnoxious ad——n. But Renard took care, by his places and emoluments, together with his skilful art of self-financing, to raise to himself and his family the greatest fortune that ever was squeez'd from the public in so short a time, without doing one good act for the nation, and retired at last without account; having run to cover behind the T—n.

The succeeding ad——n was that of the great and glorious Pitt, distinguished in the annals of our enemies for the many defeats he gave them; as well as those of Great Britain, by saving her from ruin and worthy relation.

His views, designs, and firmness, with an understanding and secrecy peculiar to himself, retriev'd the strain'd sinews of his *bleeding country*, when near expiring.

He shew'd his late M——y, who was justly and truly beloved by his people, (as the present æra can testify) as well

as his royal father, though both had been at other times deceived by the duplicity of m——rs, what Britons could, and can do for their monarch, when love cemented their valour : and how feeble the dependance must be of a prince who relies on the assistance of mercenaries, compared to the affectionate hearts of his faithful people.

He shew'd foreign powers your weight and strength, and made your enemies feel the provok'd resentments of the wrongs they had done us, and wanted still to impose on his country.

He made the two very courts, which had by chicanery and superior skill in politics, outwitted and rendered contemptible in all their treaties, his predecessors in ad——n, as is visible by these treaties at this day, humble and pliant. Those he reduc'd to that necessity, that they were ready to sign *chart blanche* : and taught all Europe, I may say the universe, to know what the strength

strength and power of a British monarch and his people can do, when properly managed and exerted, with unanimity existing among them, through the honest and upright conduct of a popular m——r, independent of the venal voices and false applause of place-men and pensioners.

But, Britons, how fatal is your bane of corruption ! By selling your votes to place-men and pensioners, who only buy you to sell you again, you have given up the noble character of free Britons, so much honoured, respected and admired in every part of the globe : with this you have created distrust, faction, and danger in the grand C—— of the nation, by returning such infamous r——s.

By these betrayers of their c——, of their own honour, and of your confidence, (for I will not suppose you knew their secret, perfidious, mercenary designs) you vested in an ignorant, insolent, presumptuous man, who was, unfortunately

fortunately for this nation, brought into public affairs, a power to overturn your *patriot*, in voting a swarm of place-men and pensioners, at your elections, into par——t, the necessary auxiliaries for carrying into execution the malevolent designs of a profligate m——r to ruin your country, and render you slaves to his despotic rule: loading yourselves, by this infatuation, with unnecessary taxes, for re-payment of an hundred thousand times more than you received by intoxication, as the wages of his iniquitous schemes; the surplus of which, after filling his own coffers, he disposed of as he thought fit amongst his dependents, or for other evil purposes, in preparing for a flight from that country where he could not with safety remain, by the injuries he had done it, and the oppressions he had laid on the people; a provision therefore was necessary, though at their cost,

To overturn your *patriot*, who had so often overturned your foreign enemies,
and

and reduced them to submission and beggary, by his wisdom and *patriotic ministry*, to save you from ruin, and support your rights, was surely the highest act of ingratitude. To pour in a troop of place-men and pensioners, to distress him in his good designs for your benefit, and to oppose and oppress those great and worthy patriots who stood up, and still stand forth in defence of your freedom and liberties, as Englishmen, one of whom has been almost a martyr to ministerial vengeance, was still worse. Your patriot never rely'd on, or call'd in place-men or pensioners, the horrors of his and every honest man's mind, to effect the national glories of his ministry, to applaud his actions, or skreen him from disgrace and national resentment, if the smallest charge could have been suggested against his popular measures, in the prosecution of which, the smallest vestige could not be trac'd by his most secret enemies, as nothing but success and conquests attended our fleets and armies during his upright ad——n.

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To overturn such a patriot, I say, by sending into p——t such a set as never disgraced more effectually a h---e which should be revered for national wisdom, integrity, and resolution, in preserving your rights and liberties, and supporting and protecting your trade, freedom, and constitution, against a tyrannic and overbearing m——r, could be owing to nothing less than the folly and infatuation you were under in being betrayed into this grievous misfortune, by the force of an almost general corruption: for the accomplishment of which the *public money*, in other words, your money, was wantonly squandered to delude and deceive you; a relation which future ages will hardly believe to be the conduct of true-born Englishmen: Hence I advise, that you who have sinn'd, may sin no more, lest your repentance may come too late.

But lest this system of bringing placemen and pensioners into your p——s, should not answer the intended purposes, or miscarry in the progress of the intended

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tended project, of supporting the pernicious views of a wicked m——r, our vigilant enemies, always attentive to every thing they can improve to their own advantage, and to distress this nation, added foreign corruption to that which was domestic, to root your patriot out, whose power and abilities they had felt and dreaded.

How similar, then, was the case of your patriot to that of Sir Walter Raleigh, I leave you to determine: I shall only observe in this place, that the latter lost his head, after all the services he had rendered his country, by the corruption of *Spanish gold*; and your glorious patriot the power to serve you, in your being corrupted with the very money which your honest industry has earn'd in the sweat of your brow: both these actions must remain indelible blots on this nation while history endureth, especially that relevant to Sir Walter, which stains the Stuarts reign with infamy for ever.

Thus

Thus you have committed a crime against your country which sinks her into *ruin*, and is now become the source of all those grievances so justly felt by you in those distracted days of discontent and confusion, and the very foundation of all, the foreign insults this kingdom has lately received and tamely submitted to.

It is but part of the punishment your own conduct has brought upon you, which will never be remedied but by a limitation of *place-men and pensioners* in your future parliaments, with severe and penal laws to prevent any further corruption.

I say, from the fall or retirement of your great patriot, who finding his councils over-rul'd, his weight and interest over-power'd, he was at last obliged to submit to terms, which were, from that fatal period, inglorious to himself, and injurious to his country: since which, your enemies abroad, as well as the secret betrayers of your rights and liberties

at home, have constantly triumph'd at this unwish'd-for event ; as the conquests and victories of the British arms, under his ad——n, were extended throughout the universe ; by which France was reduced to the lowest extremity, whilst Spain was crowding all the sail she could make to the gulph of her own destruction : but this promising scene of future success was soon chang'd by the weakness and treachery of his successors.

No sooner was the power of serving his country removed from him, than the helm of the state was grasp'd by a pilot who knew not his compass, or the easy course he might steer to arrive at the Cape of Good Hope in safety, had he continued the line of direction which his predecessor had laid down and followed. The naval preparations and other armaments of our enemies, were great and formidable at this time ; the secret of their destination was well preserved, and an invasion would certainly have taken place, though the event should prove
ever

ever so fatal. The whole was discovered to the Premier, and that, in such a manner, as enabled him to ruin France for an age to come. The reward of the important service of defeating the dangerous enterprize, by discovering the whole of the design, and where the enemy might be surprized and taken, has been distress and persecution, with notorious fraud, committed by m——l authority and connivance, on the gentleman who rendered this great service to the nation, and common justice deny'd him therein, of which, I believe, we shall have some very interesting, singular, and remarkable particulars, on propositions lately made to a Lord in ad——n, as it is not doubted but a virtuous m——y will sooner or later take place, and redress, in a short time, all our grievances. A coward heart and ignorant head are seldom productive of great events: ingratitude, artifice and meanness, are the first blossoms that appear when their power is rooted. Had the Premier of the day but as much military skill as a
militia

militia drummer, or as much courage as even a Portuguese, or the eyes of an owl, by their combination he might, if he had thought fit, assumed on the occasion the motto of Cæsar, with propriety; *Veni, vidi, vici*. Instead of embracing and pursuing those advantages, negotiations were set on foot for a peace: pick and choose your m——rs was the word, and it was with difficulty any were found to undertake the disagreeable task. In your negotiations your enemies took the advantage, as they have always done since the memorable peace first above-mentioned, and began to play their old pranks: the Spanish court immediately juggled in their overtures with the Earl of B——l, your ambassador: Wall, the Spanish minister, took up the cudgel, acting the part of the imperious haughty *Don*, and bamboozled your m——rs in their negotiations.

Monfieur Nivlenose, the Bouquet, or sweet-scented myrtle of Versailles, in his
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negociations, amused our m——s with sweet words and fine promises, according to the mode of his country: and at the entertainments which he gave to the English m——rs, when those sweets did not well go down, he never failed highly to season their ragou's with salt and vinegar, whilst the chamber was perfumed with the odoriferous smell of gunpowder or sulphur, by which he gained his point; making use of these words a few days before his departure, on talking with a gentleman of his own country, after dinner: “*Vous voyez mon cher*
“*ami que la paix est faite, Eh bien! les*
“*Anglois sont fichus, ils n'ont que de s'en*
“*prendre à, milor B—e.*” “You see,
“my dear friend, that peace is concluded: Well, the English are outwitted; if they are angry, it must be with
“Lord B—e.” The other contemptuous representations he made of the English nobility, at Versailles, after his arrival there, notwithstanding their politeness to him, and the presents made to him by many of the first rank, will be
shewn

shewn on another occasion. The Frenchman, however, owed most of these favours to place-men and pensioners.

Such, countrymen, was almost your irreparable misfortune, that by the introduction of one man into power, he immediately form'd a corrupt and pusillanimous m——y, that gave the finishing stroke to the most glorious æra of the British annals, by patching up the most infamous, scandalous, and inglorious p—e that ever was fram'd, made, or concluded by the weakest capacities of men, or corrupt beings of human nature ; almost equal to delivering you into the hands of the common enemy, whose continued labours have been since that day, and are actually now employed in forging chains for you, to consummate their scheme of tyranny and oppression over a once brave and free people.

The peace-maker, though convinced that his odious p---e would be damn'd by all the honest and independent of the
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kingdom, had nevertheless the art to get it applauded by a majority of place-men and pensioners ; but unable to withstand the resentments and outcries of an enrag'd and injur'd people, for this audacious imposition, he soon after thought fit to decamp, leaving his auxiliaries to support the infamous p—e, to which they had given their highest approbation, and by which they had rendered themselves the abomination of their country.

Oh, *Havannah ! Havannah ! Blood of Britons !* Key to the riches and command of all the Spanish territories in *North and South America*, How art thou lost ? and for what ?

Oh, Banks of Newfoundland ! Thy fisheries how necessary to be preserved, thy coasts kept sacred, and no loop-holes left for thy false, perfidious enemy to create new quarrels ; why not sacred ? and for what exposed and left open ? unless to tempt the enemy to enter and possess this invaluable appendage to the

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British crown. What had the enemy to return for the conquest of Pondicherry, equal to the expence of the blood and treasure expended to make it ours? Infatuated Britons! all this is left unpunish'd: Why, Britons? by your own venality; for your enemies might have been obliged to have ceded to you the conquests your arms had won, paid you the expences of the war, and thank'd you for any peace that might be granted them on your own terms; had not treachery and cowardice betray'd your rights, whilst corruption prevail'd in your councils and senate.

Thus far has the blood, the conquests and riches of Great Britain been given up by your judicious and skilful negotiators. Examine now what relief of taxes your peace has produced, what advantages or glory redounded to the nation, from this ignominious transaction, and what encrease of revenue, trade, wealth, or honour, has been accumulated for our king and country, from that period to the present time. As to my own part,
I know

I know of none; but this I know, that many impolitic measures have been the daily practice to accomplish your *ruin*, which are visible to all, except to those who have sold their honour and their country for places or pensions, and such as depend upon them; as there are none so blind as those who will not see.

Without any good effect, we have had juntos upon juntos of m——s ignorant of their departments. When a few of the noble and steady friends of the constitution, and your common interests, came into play, they were soon dismissed for opposing those measures that tended to your ruin, by an execrated leader.

Coalitions upon coalitions we have seen attempted upon the same plan; *ins* and *outs* innumerable we have all seen, to compleat the breaches ignorance or design has created, in negotiations and unconstitutional rules of government; labouring with unsuccessful endeavours

to smother the general and continued outcries against corruption. Bless'd with such a leader and his partisans, you are surely arrived at the highest pitch of earthly happiness, as in none of these changes any endeavour could prevail to change the pernicious system for our downfall, to impeach defaulters, or point out the means for national redress or relief, though the complaints of an injured and oppressed people have never ceas'd to require it,

From the detested p—e, you are already arrived to the eve of a war, unless prevented for a few weeks or months, by a c——n more infamous and dishonourable (if possible) than that ignominious p—e. If the tree is known by its fruit, it can be a matter of little doubt, but that the peace-maker and convention-maker are as near ally'd as the two *Sofias*: the consequences then of our celebrated p—e, and renown'd c——n, supported by a fortification of brags upon a sandy foundation, may, in a few years, prove,

prove, that, like purloin'd sheep, we may be transferred to other hands, or delivered over to the merciless knife of our foreign and domestic butchers, at an inconsiderable price. What share placemen and pensioners must have in such an honourable traffic, I submit to your own determination, as they are ready to obey the command of the dictator, in condemning or approving: the groundwork of the project, you will, in a few months, find to be well cemented; but the glory is not for you, it is for your enemies, who intend to redress your grievances their own way. It cannot be deny'd, but that your m——rs have taken indefatigable pains for you; that is, in scattering the seeds of discontent at home and abroad: your colonies are neglected and made peevish, whilst your sister Ireland is in a ferment: but, say they, this is caprice, humour, insolence without foundation: the deaf ear is turn'd, and their lies the redress of a bleeding country and broken constitution; *but Brutus is an honourable man.*

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The natural defence of your country has not been so much as thought of, for your navy is at the lowest ebb, and the major part of your ships rotten; numbers of your seamen drove by necessity and other hardships into foreign service: those at home unwilling to serve, from bad usage: your foreign trade gone like a bird of passage; when it will return, neither you or I can tell: the manufacturer and labourer ready to follow it, as many have already done; for your taxes are high, your poor's rates high; the production will be misery and famine: no money, or at least very little, in the Treasury, or to be rais'd above or underground; the Spaniard will take care you shall have none from their mines, because you did not come when you ought: he is now preparing in every quarter, with his old relation of Bourbon, who is as well pleas'd to see your ruin as to preserve his own: the fiddle-string of public credit must break; the laws and constitution are in a manner turn'd topsy-turvy, condemned murderers pardon-

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ed, assassins protected and encouraged, thieves and public robbers conniv'd at, and freemen, for trifling or no faults, imprison'd; yet *Brutus is an honourable man.*

Place-men and pensioners will say, they have in no wise contributed to these your calamities; believe them not; bribery being the fountain that supports the prodigality, insolence and extravagance, of the greater part of them.

It is true you have laws that no place-men or pensioners shall be your representatives: you evade these laws by re-choosing them; an expedient broach'd by your late great patriot, the grand corrupter. Pray when you are selling to such candidates all that is most dear to Englishmen, throw into the purchase your wives and children, as the wretched slaves in Africa do, that you may inherit slavery to the highest pitch of perfection, and drop the glorious ideas of your ancestors, who fought for *liberty*,
and

and purchas'd *freedom* with their *blood*; that it may be said of you, what Milton expresses in the interview between Satan Death, and Sin: "Engendering in your bowels a set of monsters," continually destroying the heart of their mother country for their repast.

Awake, then! awake from your stupid lethargy! open your eyes, and be alarm'd in time at the dangers that threaten you, and which are now actually carrying on against you, by a hellish crew of your secret enemies, both foreign and domestic, in the most private schemes, and the most subtle designs that imagination can form; some of which will, I hope, soon be brought to light, and laid before you.

Resolve with one common voice; and as, "*Salus populi est suprema lex*"; that is, That your happiness and safety is the first principle or fundamental law of the land, do not admit any man to represent you in your parliaments, though for the
most

most venal borough, who is a place-man or pensioner; suffer it not, I say, if you would be free.

Were you to follow the most salutary advice, on this interesting occasion, you would call a general meeting of freeholders in your respective counties, and invite the *citizens* and *burghers*, within each county, to attend such meetings; who, if not butchers to their country, will attend. Resolve, on such meetings, that no venal borough in your county shall chuse a place-man or a pensioner. Ask not whose estate or property the borough is, or by or with whose interest or connections it is affected; be that as it may, it is solely your's for the object in question; that is to say, to secure to yourselves free and independent parliaments, according to your constitution, by choosing proper representatives.

Make the candidates, on every election, take the oaths on the five first heads of the grand constitutional bill, or

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second Magna Charta of England, which has been for some months past before the m——r for his perusal, without his paying to it, the proper attention it merited, and which is now in the press, with the national plans annexed to the bill, as laid before him : These papers will, in a few days, be exhibited to the public for their information and instruction, with interesting anecdotes touching what passed on the subject, which, it is not doubted, will give satisfaction to the public, and meet their approbation, so far as by a steady pursuit of the national measures laid down therein, you may be able to provide for the security of yourselves and your posterity ; in a word, of the kingdom in general, by obtaining free and independent parliaments, and those to be annually chosen.

Should the candidate refuse to take the oaths by the bill to be prescribed, he may well be suspected of a want of that attachment to the true interest of your country, so necessary to be found in an
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independent representative ; some honest Briton will then get on the hustings, to serve and represent his country, and will comply with the terms.

Attend, therefore, in good numbers at all these borough elections, according to your birth-rights, to regulate and direct the mode of proceeding in such elections, to prevent, as far as possible, every species of bribery and corruption : for you may be easily convinced, that the traitor (whether m——r or representative) who buys you, will sell you, with the house of H——r in the lump, to *France, Spain*, or any other tyrannic power : in short, to the power that bids most, when necessity pinches, or his emoluments may be thereby enlarg'd, and his private interest gratify'd.

Abhor, therefore, such men as you would a plague : do not let them approach your elections for any county, city, borough, university, or cinqueport, but drive them out, as you have

done the wolves, from your country ; your constitution admits it, your laws confirm it, your king must be pleas'd with it ; for it is the foundation by which he reigns and governs : it is this alone can render his reign prosperous, and the foundation permanent and unshaken.

Abolish vice and corruption amongst yourselves ; raise public virtue once more from the languishing state in which she droops : your country will honour the annal in which you have redeem'd, from the jaws of destruction, the best form'd *government* that ever was plann'd, and the rising generation will bless and praise you.

Begin, I say, to work at this hydra's head, and prevent the sale of your country (if it be not too late) by her secret enemies, who are little suspected. In pursuing these measures, you will dissipate those clouds that now cover with darkness our once bright horizon ; truth
will

will then make an easy and uninterrupted approach to the royal ear: the atrocious designs and projects of our enemies will, nay, shall be made known, though propositions for that purpose have been very lately with indifference treated, I should say with absolute neglect; and those schemes so secretly concerted to ruin your sovereign and you, disappointed and defeated. Make your king happy, he is a *Briton*; and make him the greatest monarch on earth, in spite of opposition or mal-ad—n; for this you can do without the assistance of place-men and pensioners, and none but you can crown the work with perfection.

No grievance can come from your *sovereign*, if you will be honest among yourselves; he will then be great and happy; for he knows you to be a brave and generous people, ready to devote your lives and fortunes for your prince, and form'd by nature for valour, wisdom, and virtue, in the most hazardous enterprizes, where his honour and interest

terest is in question, or where your country calls.

Avoid, therefore, as much as possible, all dissention among yourselves, to disappoint your enemies, who lie on the watch to foment them. And beware, O freeholders, citizens, and burghers, of the important *trust* you have undertaken to perform ; a trust of the most sacred kind which the ties of nature can impose : that is, the duty we owe our country never to betray it. Remember the great trust and confidence reposed in you by your countrymen, to choose free, independent, and unbiassed men for your representatives.

No place-men or pensioners are free and unbiassed ; therefore unfit and unqualified to represent a free people.

You impose on King, Lords, and Commons, if you elect parasites, or murderers and destroyers of your country : the crime becomes your own, and
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every punishment that can be annexed to it, will be but too slender. Look back into history, which furnishes innumerable instances of many great monarchs being devoured and destroyed by the falsehood or flattery of sycophants, and their kingdoms left a prey. By a woe-ful experience they have in the end found, though too late, that corruption, ambition, bribery, and avarice, first opened the door by which the paracides entered, and brought upon them those miseries they carried to the grave.

Let state-jobbers be ask'd, if ever they offer to come before you again, at any election, why, and for what, they spend such extravagant sums, and make such profuse promises, to obtain your votes, for being your representatives? and whether it be to serve you, or themselves, that they display such benevolence and generosity? Who can doubt of the latter? Even our foreign enemies are good judges.

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Had our great and good *patriotic* m——rs of this century, employed half those immense sums of the public money for public utility, which they have wantonly lavish'd in elections to corrupt voters, and secure a majority to approve their bad measures, and screen themselves from justice and the people's resentment; I say, had they employ'd this public money in the service of their country, our situation at this day would not have been so desperate, nor our honour to be redeemed at the expence of so much blood and treasure, as now becomes needful, by the daring, insolent, and unwarrantable treatment which has been lately but deliberately perpetrated; by wounding the honour of his *majesty's crown* with that of the nation, in seizing his ships, mal-treating his officers and subjects, plundering his effects, and insulting the flag of *Great Britain*, with impunity; acting like *pirates* in a time of profound peace; with all this and more, by a haughty, proud, and despicable enemy.

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What satisfaction his majesty or the nation may receive, for such enormous violation of his rights, for such insults and depredations, will most probably still be left to be determined in some private treaty, by our kind and indulgent friends and mediators, on the other side the herring pond, who are preparing to do much more for us, as soon as they are ready, in addition to what they have already done, and to testify how much they love us.

The public, however, may depend on what I here relate to them, as a fact, viz. that so long ago as July last, on the news of the above catastrophe, application was made by a gentleman, who had been informed of the misfortune, to a certain Lord in ad——n, praying him to give immediate orders to fit out a fleet: that soon after, several propositions were made to his Lordship, and plans offered him by the same gentleman; for effectually taking and reducing certain places of great importance belonging to

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the enemy; by which reprisals might have been then made, the Manilla ransom recovered, with other great advantages to the nation: and the consequences of which, would, with the greatest probability, have humbled directly our haughty enemy, and produced a *chart blanche*, instead of the wonderful convention, together with full payment of our expences, &c. But these interesting proposals and efforts for the public good, made by that gentleman, for the success of which he offered to pledge himself, and who had once before served the nation on a similar occasion, were, to his great mortification and amazement, totally neglected and unattended to; as will appear by a detail of the particulars, and the letters relative to these objects which will be laid before the public for their information and satisfaction, with other curious anecdotes on the subject.

From the foregoing digression, I shall now return to my former subject, by
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saying a few words more to you, my good friends and countrymen, with respect to that conduct which it may be necessary for you further to observe, in choosing proper persons to represent you at your elections, as the bulwark for supporting your constitution, laws, and liberties.

Let the first passion you disclose, be that of the love of your country: examine then with a serious attention, and with all the powers nature has endowed you, into the causes of those grievous calamities with which you at present struggle, and which threaten the almost immediate ruin of your country; upon the enquiry you will find, that the weight of place-men and pensioners, against the unwearied efforts and labours of your patriotic advocates, who, though hitherto in vain, stand in the gap to defend you, have overpower'd their most sanguine endeavours, and rendered every attempt for your happiness fruitless, by their book of numbers, in which they

exult, as if they had gained a triumph by vanquishing their country; so thieves rejoice at the despoil of the unguarded passenger, till they are brought to the Old Bailey, where they learn repentance, when it is too late, with respect to their prospects in this life.

Candidates are no candidates for you, at your elections, who will not by oath, or the most inviolable engagements, undertake or swear to endeavour to restore the ancient constitution to its pristine strength and vigour; to impeach all delinquents and defaulters, even for sixty years past, to the end that their ill-gotten estates, heaped upon the ruin of their country, by their bad measures and unpardonable conduct, in loading you with unnecessary taxes, and involving the nation with a debt she is not able to bear; may be, in some measure, satisfied, by a confiscation of their estates and effects they left behind them; in a word, to impeach all those who have openly opposed and prevented the national measures,

tures, and honest propositions that have been made, for the safety, honour, and happiness of your country.

When you have chosen your representatives, instruct them, and oblige them on oath, as above, to endeavour, to the utmost of their power, to obtain an act for annual parliaments, according to your old constitution ; by a repeal of the septennial act, as also the act of Queen Ann, called the Qualification Act, by which rich men in land are only qualified to be chosen. This mode of choosing representatives was never thought of, or so much as surmised, in your constitution. Your wise ancestors, knowing and foreseeing that fools and knaves were and wou'd be always found, as well among rich men in land, as among the poorer sort of inhabitants, and that wisdom, honesty, and a disinterested love of their country, were the best recommendations and pretensions that men could possess for this important charge, never so much as dream'd of excluding such persons ;
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for if a representation of the people should be continu'd, confin'd, and limited much longer to the landed interest only, as it now stands, the constituents in time must become slaves to their representatives, and your condition as deplorable as that of the inhabitants of Poland under their tyrannic lords and masters, call'd their nobles, to the imminent danger of your king and country, by falling into an aristocratical government, instead of a monarchical.

You will then chuse men of wealth, understanding and probity; men who have a clear and just knowledge of the true interest, trade, and manufactures of your respective counties, and kingdom in general: men residing in your own counties, if possible, who specifically know the peculiar interests of their constituents; these are the men to be rely'd on; such representatives will bring no infamy on your choice, or any expence on government; nor will they create faction or distrust, to disturb the royal ear;

ear; or load you with unnecessary taxes, with a view to participate therein, for supporting their luxury, pride, and extravagance; but, as honest men and faithful servants to their king and their constituents, will accelerate the passing into a law the grand Constitutional Bill, or second Magna Charta before-mentioned.

As the design of this bill is for to establish national union and happiness, to establish a superior navy at little or no expence to the people, to reduce exorbitant and unnecessary taxes, and increase public and private wealth, with universal trade, and other popular benefits and advantages, little doubt remains but it will merit your attention and approbation, with your best endeavours to get it passed into a law; you will then be freed from place-men and pensioners. Locusts of every kind tarnish the brightest diadem, eat up the sweets of industry, leaving the honest farmer or labourer to withered leaves or chaff, for the subsistence of himself and his family.

Towards

Towards the more speedy and effectually passing such a bill into a law ; and as the intent and scope of it is the happiness and prosperity of king and people, as I have before specified, I should again recommend it to you to call a general meeting of the freeholders of each county, to consider the advantages proposed by the bill, which if you should approve, to frame an humble address or remonstrance to the throne ; then inclose this address or remonstrance to each city and borough within each county, for their approbation ; inviting them to attend you on a day to be appointed for another county meeting, to take the matter once more into consideration ; then begin to sign your remonstrance or address in manner following, viz. A. B. freeholder ; C. D. citizen ; F. G. burgher ; by this mode you will have the county united in one common address, which will shew your sovereign the sense of all his people ; conveying it to the royal presence in the strongest terms of duty, respect, affection, and submission, that
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can be expressed, with your faithful and inviolable assurances of your being ready to stake and expose your lives and fortunes in support of his just rights, against either foreign or domestic enemies; praying a dissolution of the present p——t, and a redress of those grievances which have so loudly echoed throughout his kingdoms, to the great joy and satisfaction of the enemies of his crown and illustrious house, establish'd on the throne of these realms, in despite of all the combinations and confederacies, powers, schemes, or projects, that France, Spain, and their adherents together united, could, in their diabolical machinations of invasions and rebellions, ever concert.

His royal heart, ever ready to listen, as well as to consider and relieve the just complaints and distresses of his oppressed subjects, will weigh and reflect on his own with the national interests, and advantages resulting from a compliance with your supplications; for, in confi-

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dering the subjects, (promiscuously or indiscriminately taken) he will find the conclusion the same, viz. that his glory and happiness, and those of his subjects, are so blended and interwoven together, as to become inseparable; and the objects for uniting and confirming them, invariable, if the constitution is supported and maintained pure and with vigour.

The wisest and happiest of your kings have laid this precedent down as a maxim, by which they happily govern'd: hence they gain'd the hearts of their subjects, and the command of their lives and fortunes. It has been, in following this rule, they vanquished their enemies, by defeating their schemes and attempts to cultivate and foment those projects of discontent and sedition among the people, with a view to depose or dethrone the best sovereigns that have sway'd the British sceptre.

This constitution of your's is therefore the fortress which defends both king and
people

people against all the combined powers of the universe: if violated, or any breaches made in it, the entrance will, by degrees, in a short time become familiar and easy; your enemies will avail themselves of your folly, and overturn your boasted fortification; they will possess themselves of it by storm, or perhaps sword in hand, without leaving you the smallest remains of it to repair or improve on.

Prepare then for tyranny and wooden shoes, submit to the yoke of slavery, and bid adieu for ever to your bulwark, which has been no less the admiration and envy of all other nations, than their dread and terror: many are the attempts that have been hitherto made to destroy it, even by some of our own princes, assisted by the political schemes and labours of France, in expending large sums to divide the people, and raise jealousies and discontents between them and their sovereigns, in order to introduce arbitrary and despotic power, as the annals of

Richlieu and Mazarine, with those of their successors, evidently shew : these schemes, tho' fruitless, at length brought on those troubles which were spread throughout the kingdom, in the unhappy reigns of Charles and James, and reduced those kings to that deplorable state in which their melancholy days were finished, without effecting their designs ; for it is morally impossible to destroy this glorious shield of national defence, unless you put your hands to the work yourselves, by bribery and corruption, with the aid of place-men and pensioners, who will vote away your liberties with the hopes of becoming your masters, and afterward dictate to their sovereign, according to their own good will and pleasure : had those princes stuck by the constitution, their fate had been different.

Regard, I pray you, the heads of this grand Constitutional Bill, the passing of which into a law, will annihilate those evils, prove a *bar* to all the endeavours
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that may be in agitation to deprive you of your freedom and independence, as well as to the ambitious views of your domestic or foreign foes.

Your fleets maintained without expence, and destin'd, as therein specify'd, will humble your enemies, and give you universal trade.

Your taxes may be, without prejudice to his majesty's revenue, reduced, your seamen well provided for, and a sufficient number always ready to man your fleets, at a call; the debt of the nation diminish'd, and other benefits to you, which will render you a flourishing people, and your sovereign happy and great in your love and affections, whilst his exchequer abounds with wealth and riches.

All this can be done, all this will be done, without inconvenience, hardship, or burthen on you, should the bill above-mentioned take place as a law. The threats and menaces of invasion will then
cease,

cease, or evaporate like smoke; without any other consequence, but, like the cries of a skreech owl, to frighten your children, or to keep old women awake; for the empire of the seas has always been your's, and still must be your's, if fleets are kept up, as I mention; so that if our friendly neighbours should attempt to pay us a visit, without your invitation, the only trouble and expence you can be at, on the occasion, will be the trouble of taking their ships, and bringing them into port; and as to the expence, it will only be to equip them with cork jackets, and send them back directly by the same channel they came.

As for your inhospitable friends Don Francisco Buccarelli, and Ignacio Madariaga, now of Falkland Island Dons, who, in the time of the greatest harmony and friendship, were so rude as to kick us out of doors, leaving us a convention, I should say a bone of contention, to exist on. Their incivility with the laws and rules of hospitality, which
they

they have violated; and the *Lex talionis*, which should follow, will, I find, be treated of in another publication.

True it is, that we are told we may go there again; but what security have we to assure us of a kind reception, or of our quiet and peaceable possession and enjoyment of what has been so audaciously taken from us by force; or whether, upon our arriving there, we may not meet with a more unfavourable treatment for our presumption, than that which we received on their arrival. For my own part, I am of opinion, and I think you will concur with me in the idea, that our treatment would be rather worse. Pray therefore your Sovereign to grant you a dissolution of the present p——t, and a redress of those grievances which have so loudly echoed throughout his kingdoms, and which the enemies of his crown and illustrious house have most heartily rejoiced at.

His royal heart, ever ready to listen,
as well to relieve and consider the complaints

plaints and distresses of his oppressed subjects, will weigh and reflect on the national interests resulting from a compliance with your supplications.

The world knows, that, according to the constitution of England, which has for ages past remained as an impregnable rock against the utmost efforts of every foreign power unshaken, is nothing more than a solemn compact between king and people, for the mutual happiness and support of both ; it has never been violated or infringed by you, nor your oaths of allegiance, or your attachment, ever questioned and doubted, or your integrity suspected, by forgetting the oaths you have in duty and affection taken to your lawful Sovereign, in any defection or act of rebellion towards his crown or family.

Your Sovereign has, on his part, like other kings his predecessors, amidst the acclamations and rejoicings of thousands of his most affectionate subjects, and in the presence of his clergy and others, in
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the most solemn manner sworn at the altar, in the presence of the divine God his protector, in the words following: "That he will grant and keep upon his oath, the laws and customs to them granted (meaning his people) by the kings of England, agreeing to the ancient custom of this realm, to keep peace and godly agreement, according to his power; and to cause law, justice, and discretion, in mercy and truth, to be executed in all his judgments."

Fear not then that your Sovereign will be displeased or offended at your approach, in humbly representing to him the causes of your complaints and grievances; for it is only by such representation, and an enquiry into them, he can fulfil his religious and solemn engagement, to cause law, justice, and discretion; in mercy and truth, to be rendered; and to grant and keep the laws and customs granted to the people of England, by himself and the kings his predecessors, by considering

dering your grievances and distreffes, which you will, in the above manner, dutifully lay at the foot of his throne for redress.

His royal virtues are too eminently distinguish'd, and his religious mind but too well known to give you the least doubt, but that he will with patience give attention to your complaints, and maintain your rights, in preventing all encroachments made upon them and your constitution, by a full and ample redress of those grievances you set forth, by restoring the old constitution, and excluding place-men and pensioners from seats in your grand assembly, as representatives of a free people; thus uniting that force, strength, and power of his subjects to the crown, which forms the constitution in its full splendor and glory; placing the compact between king and people, on such ground as even earthquakes can't remove, but which will shake the family compact of Bourbon, overturn the basis of that formidable edifice,

edifice, and render the secret projects, which are yet in the hidden womb of the cursed construction, conceal'd and impenetrable, till time ripens them for execution.

His Majesty will see, by a compliance with your Remonstrance on the above matters, how easy it is to remedy your just complaints and grievances; with what ease he can prevent the discontentments and divisions which are spread throughout this kingdom, and prevent, on future elections, the evil consequences attending the return of place-men and pensioners as representatives of his free people, how easily he may fill his exchequer, preserve the love of his subjects, and defeat all opposition and party faction at home, as well as the malevolent designs of his foreign enemies, to disturb his royal mind, or his lawful and rightful possessions: fear not to approach him in numbers, and enter his house in peace and humility, as you do your churches, the residence of the Almighty,
whose

whose vicegerent he is on earth ; he will hear your prayers, attend to your supplications, and grant you relief for the happiness of his kingdoms. His own greatness, power, grandeur, and prosperity, or those of his royal posterity, are only to be found in those resources which flow from the hearts of a faithful, generous, brave, and loyal people ; and this, all this your Sovereign can do, by saying, I will have no place-men or pensioners in my parliament to represent a free people,

F I N I S.



F. Norman

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10.1.77

